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ABSTRACT

Essays contained in this document present a direction for policy and problemsolving in the realm of postsecondary education. The essays cover: (1) the "new" domain of postsecondary education, (2) the growth and financing of postsecondary education, (3) a lottery system for higher education, (4) credentialism, (5) campus disaffection, (6) the redistribution of educational and noneducational goods, and (7) new policy directions for postsecondary education. (MJM)

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NOTES ON THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION

A PUBLICATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTER AT SYRACUSE, VOLUME II ISSUE 3 SUMMER 1971

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

HE 005 430

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D. J. Barclay Editor

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EDITOR'S NOTES

The essays contained in this issue of *Notes* are the result of a continuing focus at the Center on the problems and perspectives of post-secondary education. In these essays are brought together a number of major research approaches undertaken at the Center, including quantitative and structural analysis, forecasting, comprehensiveness, policy planning and others.

In their original form, these essays were substantially longer, and were planned for publication as a book. Last spring, however, Dr. Samuel Halperin of the Educational Staff Seminars in Washington, asked that the Center select a team to present a two-day seminar for congressional and executive staff members on the problems of post-secondary education in the United States. Though the background research was complete, the requirements that the essays be sharpened and condensed into their present format presented new problems and challenges.

A series of intensive discussions honed the papers down to approximately their present length, including a number of changes that clarified most of the points under discussion. Then, the seminar at Airlie House in Washington identified some few points of remaining obscurity. At that point, the decision was taken to put the papers through one final revision for publication in this magazine.

While these essays contain some suggestions to solutions of the problems currently plaguing post-secondary education, it is to be emphasized that their purpose is to raise and define significant, enduring issues and to point a direction for policy. An example of this is the difference throughout these papers between "higher education" and "Post-secondary education." The latter term covers a wider and more significant set of activities than has usually been considered in policy discussions; this widening of scope we feel is a crucial need if the problems are to be alleviated during the next few decades.

A summary of the major points made in the essays is impossible in the space allotted to this column; rather, I would like to emphasize the fact that these papers present a direction for policy and problem-solving in the realm of post-secondary education, not a program of explicit cures for the educational ills of adults and young adults.

Because of the extreme length of this issue, and the printing costs involved, additional copies are priced at $1.50, rather than our usual one dollar. Single copies, of course, are sent to the mailing list free of charge.

The "New" Domain of Post-secondary Education

by

Stanley Moses

Stanley Moses—A research Fellow at the Center until September 1971, Moses has spent the last few years exploring and defining the "Learning Force." In September of 1971, he began teaching at Hunter College in New York City. He is also working on a book which fully outlines the dimensions and implications of the Learning Force.

We all know that the American educational system has grown a great deal over the past few decades and indeed since the beginning of the republic. We know that this growth is reflected in both absolute numbers of participants, higher rates of participation for cohort age groups, and large increases in outlays of public monies at all levels of government. Probably, many of us are aware of the intricacies and subtleties which are at work in each of these three areas. And especially the reservations involved at the present time of the bust in the birth rate and the boom in budget balancing.

But with all our knowledge and understanding of the growth of the *"educational system"* there still remain large areas of educational activity where we are still ignorant and uninformed, and when I mention education, I am not here referring to learning. I am simply referring to a basic understanding of the structural dimensions of participation in formal, organized educational experiences by the American population as regards numbers of participants and the amounts of expenditures and employment involved.

Until now, all our traditional governmental agencies have concentrated their efforts on recording and reporting the dimensions of the Core—that sequential ladder of formal educational activity ranging from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools. Missing from this accounting is the recording of participation in what I call the "Educational Periphery"—the variety of formally organized educational activities ranging from vocationally oriented programs in business, government, the military, proprietary schools and anti-poverty programs, to cultural and leisure-oriented programs in regular Core institutions, religious education, television, correspondence courses, and private associations. These programs satisfy the interests and needs, both cultural and vocational, of millions of individuals.

Also overlooked in our traditional approach to education are the variety of informal non-organized ways in which people learn and educate themselves. Michael Marien has referred to many of their activities in his work on the "educational complex." By informal, I mean education through the media, local cultural facilities, activities in organizations, and the different forms of self-directed learning in which people engage for the purpose of this presentation. I shall focus attention on the formally organized aspects of non-Core educational activity represented in the Educational Periphery. At the same time, however, I wish to emphasize to you that it is the area of informal education which will in the future present some of the greater challenges for creative thinking in educational policy.

A great disparity exists among these various estimates regarding the size of the Periphery. This may be attributed to different conceptual frameworks about the definition of an educational activity; differences in the minimum time involvement deemed necessary for inclusion; and different approaches to the phenomenon of double counting which occurs when the same individual participates in more than one activity during the course of a single year. The data presented in the following table are drawn from a variety of sources, both published and unpublished. Extensive contact was made with various organizations and personnel involved in the Periphery and the Core. Consideration was given to the differing estimates presented by various studies and attempts were made to reconcile these differences, where possible.

A more comprehensive assessment of educational activity portrays the following picture: (See Table below). We note that the total learning force, in terms of total 1970 head count participation, is about evenly divided between the educational Core—the traditional system of schools and colleges—and the educational Periphery.

What are some of the implications which emerge

The Learning Force (1940-1976)
(millions)

	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	Current Estimates 1970	1976
I. The Educational Core							
1. Pre-primary	.7	1.3	2.0	2.7	[illegible]	4.4	5.5
2. Elementary	20.5	21.0	26.0	29.1	[illegible]	32.3	30.0
3. Secondary	7.1	6.5	9.3	13.0	16.8	19.8	22.1
4. Undergraduate	1.4	2.4	2.4	3.2	4.9	6.5	8.3
5. Graduate	.1	.2	.2	.4	.6	.8	1.1
Sub-Total	29.8	31.4	39.9	48.8	57.4	63.8	67.0
II. The Educational Periphery							
1. Organizational	8.2	10.2	10.9	13.0	14.5	21.7	27.4
2. Proprietary	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.0	7.8	9.6	18.1
3. Anti-poverty	-	-	-	-	2.8	5.1	7.0
4. Correspondence	2.7	3.4	3.5	4.5	5.0	5.7	6.7
5. TV	-	-	-	.01	5.0	7.5	10.0
6. Other adult	3.9	4.8	5.1	6.8	9.1	10.7	13.2
Sub-Total	17.3	21.9	23.0	28.3	44.2	60.3	82.4
III. The Learning Force (I + II)	47.1	53.3	62.9	76.7	101.6	124.1	149.4

from our considerations of the learning force? The fundamental challenge to public policy in the future will be to innovate new programs and experiences which will afford opportunities for growth and development in ways not afforded by the traditional Core educational system. Public policy must rethink the content and purposes of organized education. Does education refer only to the sorts of activities represented in the Core? Traditional concepts of education have focused upon education as an activity engaged in by children or youth as a preparation for life prior to entering the "real" world.

The learning force concept leads to a substantially contrary view of education. My view challenges conventional wisdom about the purposes and goals of the educational system, and brings to the forefront many basic questions: Who is to be educated; Where is one to be educated? At what time in life? In what type of programs? For what purposes? It challenges the monopoly which the traditional Core educational establishment has had over public resources. It poses questions for our traditional measures regarding "educational attainment" and disputes the primacy of credentials as a measure of that attainment. Bringing into reckoning a vast array of already existing alternative educational programs in the Periphery, it presents the possibility for an innovative and creative approach to planning for education which can better serve the needs of both individuals and society.

Consideration of the Periphery leads to a number of suggestions regarding the implications of the Learning Force concept. My contention is that the concept has a direct relevance and contribution to make to our understanding of what education is in modern society; to the changing relationships between education and society; to the purposes and functioning of educational planning on the part of government and other social institutions; and to new possibilities for personal development in both work and leisure in our emerging post-industrial society. Activities in the Periphery provide a new framework for the considerations of educational policy. A recognition of the total Learning Force provides the basis for making an accurate assessment of the true dimensions of education in American society, not only regarding enrollments, a matter which has been emphasized in this article, but also comprehensive estimates regarding total educational expenditures and total educational employment. A consideration of the Learning Force also provides the basis for making more rational decisions regarding policy for the Core as well as providing the basis for new initiatives in the Periphery.

In order to think about policy for the Core we will have to increase our understanding of the Periphery as a system of education which offers a variety of alternative possibilities for individual learning and hence, for public policy. A number of historical developments in the Core make it necessary to bring to the forefront now, more than ever before, a consideration of the Periphery. Among these are the following:

1. the increasing rate of high school completion, now at the level of 80 percent; very simply, after 100 years, the K-12 system will not serve as the main area for future growth in the Core.

2. certain systemic regularities in higher education which seem to have led to stabilized relationships between entrance and completion, thereby raising serious questions about the goal of "a universal higher education for all" as the next phase of development in the Core. For the past 50 years, approximately 54% of high school graduates have matriculated into 4-year degree-credit programs of higher education.

3. an increased sense of disaffection with and challenge to the power and hegemony of higher education as being the ultimate and only depository of "higher" learning.

4. an increasing discontent with the role which educational institutions have played in abetting the emergence of the "credentialized society."

5. the fiscal crises resulting from commitment to the increasing development and expansion of the Core.

6. the changing economic and social structure of society which indicates that many of our traditional notions as to what people should learn—where, when and how—are even less valid today than ever before—leading to a search for an educational system which will provide more meaningful alternatives along the line of "continuing education" or, to use the Swedish term, "recurring education."

All of these factors indicate that our policy lenses should be broadened beyond the traditional focus of the educational system. Where the broadened spectrum leads I do not know. That is one major issue for discussion today. We do know that in the past, while the Core and Periphery have developed as two somewhat separate and distinct systems, there has always been a relationship between them. At the very least, both implicitly and explicitly, they exist as competitors for the dollars of both the public purse and the private consumer, insomuch as he does have the opportunity to exercise some choice. While in this area there has been some competition, the struggle has been somewhat akin to the likelihood that five midgets, albeit highly skilled, innovative and creative, would win the championship of the National Basketball Association.

In terms of program substance, there has been a good deal of interchange, with the Periphery serving as the frontier of innovation and experimentation and the Core coopting and institutionalizing those programs which demonstrate the greatest viability and success. In that sense we may observe the manner in which junior colleges have developed programs dealing with many of the specialized skills and training that has been regularly provided by proprietary institutions, business and industrial organizations. In the past, in order for Periphery programs to gain legitimization and accreditation it usually was necessary that they become absorbed within the institutional framework of the Core.

A major question confronting policy makers is whether this past trend shall be the wave of the future. Are policy-makers prepared to confront some basic questions about the relationship between schooling and learning, between education and occupation, and between credentials and capabilities; about what is the legitimate arena for public involvement in the support of education; about the larger questions of what should the people learn, when, where and how? If we approach the questions in this manner, I think we will discover that we already possess in this country a whole variety of programs and possibilities, of alternatives to the regular schooling system—a matter we are now hearing much about—which deserves the serious attention and consideration of public policy-makers.

Where does this new perspective on the total domain of post-secondary education lead us? At the very least, the Office of Education should address itself to the problem of remedying some of the huge information gaps which exist in our current knowledge about the sizeable complexity of educational activities in the Periphery. I realize that some beginnings have already been made under the impetus of Dorothy Guilford and Morris Ullman of the Center for Educational Statistics. But, historically, these beginnings have a way of being terminated as soon as they begin. Witness also the recent decision to close the ERIC Center for Adult Education, strong evidence of the marginality and low level priority attached to non-Core activities by the Office of Education.

But even if detailed and comprehensive information were suddenly to be thrust upon us—I am pessimistic as to what difference this would make. Would federal policy be able to confront some of the hard questions (interestingly enough, usually labeled by social scientists and other such types as "soft" questions) about the goals of learning and personal development and how these relate to the huge behemoth of the Core which we have created, organized, legitimized and subsidized. Once we have a better comprehension of just what the "domain of education" is, is federal policy prepared to ask what the future shape and content of our educational system should be? I think that it is only when we confront some of these more basic questions that we can then begin to think through some

of the implications that the Periphery, the Learning Force and the various forms of informal learning considered in this presentation, have for the formulation of a "better" educational policy.

On the Growth and Financing of Post-secondary Education: Who Pays, Student or Taxpayer?

by

James C. Byrnes

James C. Byrnes—Before coming to the Center as a Senior Research Fellow, Byrnes was with the Office of Education in Washington, D. C. His interest in refining the data available on the quantity of instruction led to the major focus of his research at the Center, with an emphasis on the future quantity of post-secondary instruction and alternative means of financing expected growth. A film of his projections, "The Future Quantity of Instruction" was made during the Spring of 1971. He was made an Associate Director of the Center in August 1971.

Post-secondary education in the United States is in a severe state of financial difficulty. Despite unprecedented federal and state programs of financial assistance during the 1960's, the average number of staff members per student declined at a rate of minus 1.5 percent per year from 1960 to 1970. By 1970 that average was 86 percent of what it was at the beginning of the decade. During the same period, constant dollar expenditures per staff member increased only by 1.0 percent per year while average incomes received by all families in the United States increased 3.3 percent per year in real terms. During this same period the number of student-years of instruction produced increased by 8.3 percent per year. Educational activity more than doubled. Average expenditure per student-year, in constant 1968-69 dollars, declined at a rate of minus 0.6 percent per year during the decade.

In order to maintain staff-student ratios without change during the 1960's and enjoy the same rate of growth in resource use per staff member as that enjoyed by the rest of us in both our homes and our jobs, would have required 45 percent more in total current resources than institutions of higher education actually used during the 1960's. This suggests that there is a good deal more than simple bureaucratic greed behind the current cry of "financial crisis" heard from the educational community.

There are two reasons why this difficulty has occurred. One is that the college age population increased at a rate of 4.2 percent per year during the 1960's. That population did not increase at all during the 1950's. The second reason is that the secondary school system began to mature. During the 1960's, the locus of growth in the number of years of formal education completed by the young shifted from secondary levels to post-secondary levels. We opened post-secondary education to the less affluent on a scale unlike anything we had done before. This was necessary if growth in educational attainment was to continue. However, by facilitating this shift in where growth in schooling takes place, we also created a new, but temporary, source of student demand. Post-secondary education in general began to serve groups in our population never before served through student aid and by the creation of new low-tuition government-operated institutions. This brought an even greater number of students to post-secondary education during the 1960's than population growth and the rise in per capita income alone can account for.

These factors led to the financial difficulty post-secondary education faces today and will continue to create problems for another ten years. The college-age population will continue to increase by 2.3 percent per year until 1975, and by 1.5 percent per year between 1975 and 1980. Continued growth in real income will bring with it continued growth in the average number of student-years of instruction sought

per person of college age. The opening of post-secondary instruction for lower income groups will continue to add to the demand for enrollment over and above what growth in real income will produce. Growth in real income will continue to raise the unit cost of instructional resources. Growth in national income, however, is unlikely to exceed its long-run historical rate. Thus, without an increase in the historical priority we have placed on educational uses for new national resources, the *financial crisis in post-secondary education will last another ten years.* But, take heart, there is an end in sight. I will explain.

There are limits to how much time people will spend in formal education. Even if there were a completely open post-secondary system in the United States today, free of all cost to students at all levels of post-secondary study, only a little more than one-half of last year's first graders would be expected to spend as many as 4 years at post-secondary levels by the time they reach age 35. Let me translate that kind of statement into something more useful for the problem at hand.

Even if the system were made completely free to students and programs broadened to accept all applicants regardless of their prior preparation, we would not expect enrollment to more than double between 1970 and 1980. The reason for this is simply that people have other things to do besides going to school.

However, the reason we may expect the rate of increase in the average amount of time those of college age spend in formal education to accelerate in the 1970's is that a growing number see further education as the most desirable of all the alternatives available to them. Generally speaking, they are quite correct in this view. The increased real income and wealth of our society comes from increased productivity in the conduct of both social and economic affairs. Increased productivity involves an increasing division of labor between learning and doing. Opportunities for experiential learning are diminishing as rapidly for the college-age individual today as was the case 50 years ago for youth of high school age. The more experienced individual, who is not primarily an educator, finds that he can afford less and less time to assist the uninitiated if he is to maintain the standards of productivity others expect. I believe that this is one reason why we began to create a system of public secondary schools at the turn of the century. I believe that this is also one reason why we are now creating new publicly supported opportunities for post-secondary education.

Now, I want to make it absolutely clear that, although we will find it extremely difficult to create meaningful post-secondary programs sufficient to bring about a doubling of enrollment, we can afford to do that if we wish to accept the challenge. That would imply an annual average rate of growth in student-years accommodated of 7.7 percent per year. We may hold the average staff-student ratio constant at its 1970 level. We may increase average expenditures per staff (including current capital cost) by 3.5 percent per year. This yields a growth rate for total resources required of 11.5 percent per year between 1970 and 1980. (See Table A)

TABLE A
Average Rates of Growth in Percent Per Year
All Institutions of Higher Education

	(1) 1950's	(2) 1960's	(3) 1970's (Maximum Growth)	(4) 1980's
A. Number of persons age 18-24	0.0	4.2	1.9	-1.5
B. Average student-years completed per person of college age	1.6	3.9	5.7	2.0
C. Number of student-years (A times B)*	1.6	8.3	7.7	0.5
D. Average No. staff units used per student year	2.7	-1.5	0.0	1.4
E. Average constant $ expenditure per staff unit (including salary, material, and current capital consumption)	2.1	1.0	3.5	3.5
F. Total constant $ current resources used (C times D Times E)*	6.5	7.7	11.5	5.5
G. Average constant $ expenditure per student-year (F÷C)*	4.8	-0.6	3.5	5.0

* Rates shown are multiplicative when first converted to ratios.

$$\text{Ratio} = 1 + \frac{r}{100}$$

If national income continues to grow at its historical rate of about 3.7 percent per year in real terms, then we can afford a 10.4 percent per year growth in expenditures for post-secondary education *with no change in the historical priority we have placed on educational uses of increments to our income for more than 50 years.* We can afford an 11.5 percent per year growth in resources for post-secondary education with a *lower* rate of growth in total educational expenditures than that prevailing for the past 20 years.

If one makes the same kind of assumptions for growth in the elementary and secondary system—that pre-school activities will increase; that the proportion of the young completing high school will continue to rise; that the average staff-student ratio will actually increase by 0.6 percent per year in order to avoid reducing the absolute number of staff as the school population declines; and that expenditures per staff member will increase at a rate of 3.5 percent per year—then requirements for growth in total resources will be 3.9 percent per year. Furthermore, this would allow for a 4.1 percent per year rate of growth in expenditures per student in real terms. This would represent a rate of improvement in resources per student which is significantly higher than that which has been enjoyed by the elementary and secondary system for more than 20 years. (See Table B)

TABLE B
Average Rates of Growth in Percent Per Year
All Elementary and Secondary Institutions

	(1) 1950's	(2) 1960's	(3) 1970's	(4) 1980's
A. Number of persons age 5-17	3.6	1.9	-0.8	1.2
B. Average student-years completed per person of school age	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.4
C. Number of student-years (A times B)*	3.9	2.6	-0.2	1.6
D. Average No. staff units used per student year	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.3
E. Average constant $ expenditure per staff unit (including salary, material, and current capital consumption)	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5
F. Total constant $ current resources used (C times D times E)*	7.8	6.4	3.9	5.5
G. Average constant $ expenditure per student-year (F÷C)*	3.8	3.7	4.1	3.8

*Rates shown are multiplicative when first converted to ratios:

$$\text{Ratio} = 1 + \frac{r}{100}$$

If one simply recognizes that 1970 expenditures for the elementary and secondary system were 4 times the amount spent for all higher education, then one can discover that a growth rate of 11.5 percent per year for expenditures on higher education and a growth rate of 3.9 percent per year for the lower grades implies a 5.9 percent per year growth rate for both. The growth rate for both has been roughly 5.5 percent for 50 years and substantially higher than that for the past 20 years. (See Table C)

TABLE C
Average Rates of Growth in Total Resource Use
All Educational Institutions
(In Percent Per Year)
(Constant 1968-69 Dollars)

	1950 Expenditure Weights*	1950's	1960's	1970's	1980's
Higher Education	.2	6.5	7.7	11.5	5.5
Elementary & Secondary	.8	7.8	6.4	3.9	5.5
All Formal Education	1.0	7.6	6.7	5.9	5.5

*Technical Note: The expenditure weights apply to the underlying growth ratios consistent with the average rates shown.

N.B. The annual average rate of growth in total educational expenditures has been approximately 5.5 percent per year in constant dollars since 1920.

If we address this problem and solve it reasonably well in the next decade, then following 1981 requirements for growth in resources for post-secondary education will be greatly diminished. Not only will the college age population decline continuously for another 10 years following 1981, but lower income groups will have access to post-secondary education. Further growth in educational attainment will thereafter be constrained by the growth in real income per capita. And growth requirements for post-secondary education will subside to something on the order of 5.5 percent per year even with the most generous assumptions.

This brings us to the title question: "Who pays, the student or the taxpayer?" My answer is that the taxpayer pays. But remember: the student is a future taxpayer.

We are fond of pointing to the higher average lifetime earnings of college graduates and asking: If education pays the individual so well, why not let the individual pay the full cost? We forget that the successful student has already paid dearly in three ways. He must perform prodigious amounts of work. He must give up other activities which also might lead to a desirable future. And, he must assume a very severe risk that what we and our educational institutions require him to do will, in fact, prove personally valuable to him in the future. About 60 percent of the range of incomes received in 1969 by 35-44 year old male college graduates was indistinguishable from the range of incomes received by their cohorts who only com-

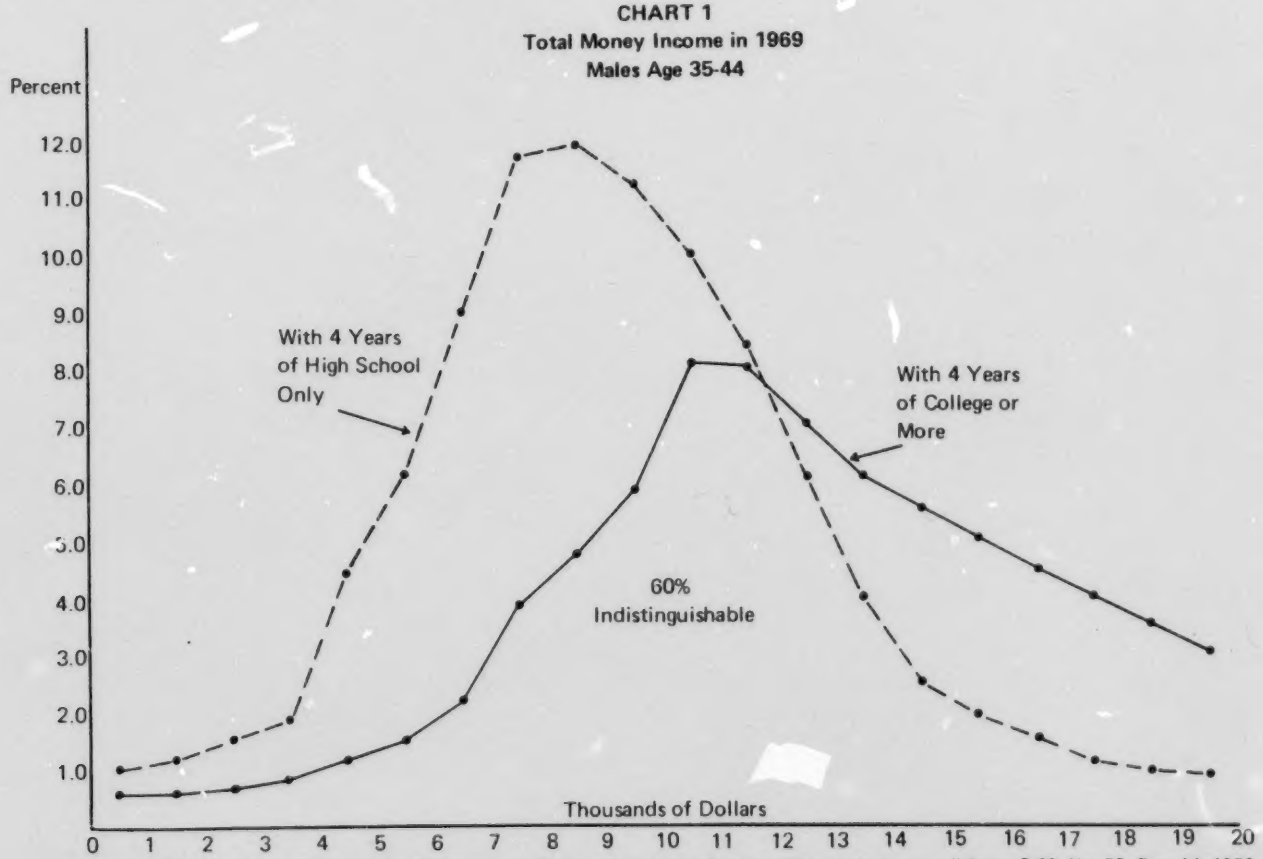
pleted high school. (See Chart 1.) To assume that the higher incomes which are visible have been caused by schooling, it would be necessary to deny that either the student or his non-school advantages had anything to do with the amount of income he subsequently received. The *only way our post-secondary institutions can be said to have caused one person to have a higher lifetime income than another is by restricting access to instruction in arbitrary ways.*

If the educational system does no more than increase one person's income over another's, that system is clearly discriminatory and inequitable. The purpose of post-secondary education is much more than that. It quite literally pays each of us to give others a means to enhance their skills and abilities, *as long as those skills and abilities are not exclusive;* that is, as long as anyone who wishes to acquire a particular skill or insight has a chance to do so. There is no reason why a student should pay the full cost of his education unless it gives him some exclusive advantage over his contemporaries.

During the past 30 years the proportion of the young completing high school has risen from 50 percent to more than 80 percent. The proportion of the college-aged finishing 4 years of college has risen from about 9 percent to nearly 25 percent. During that same period, the distribution of income received by individuals has changed very little. What has changed, however, is that the average income received by all has increased more than two-and-one half times, in real terms. It is society who pays for the educational process because it is society which benefits. There may be good and sufficient reasons for charging students tuition and fees, but those reasons have little to do with causing students to have high incomes.

The manner in which we choose to finance future growth in post-secondary education is of deep and lasting importance. If this is done by creating low-tuition institutions under highly centralized govern-

CHART 1
Total Money Income in 1969
Males Age 35-44



Source: Calculated from U.S. Bureau of The Census, Current Population Reports, "Consumer Income," Series P-60, No. 75, Dec. 14, 1970.

mental administration, student choice with respect to where and how he pursues his education is minimized. I believe that one of the most critical ratios to be set through public policy is the ratio of institutional revenues from students, through tuition, to non-tuition revenue. That ratio now stands at roughly two to one in favor of non-tuition revenue to institutions. As the institutional side of that ratio increases, student choice with respect to where and how he gets an education is diminished. On the other hand, if the student financed the total cost of his post-secondary education, the public nature of our educational institutions would be greatly diminished. Institutions would have little choice but to do whatever students asked Institutions could no longer be expected to respond to what the rest of us might perceive as desirable for students.

Thus my recommendation is to create two new supplementary programs of educational aid. One should be a general per student-year grant sufficient to provide a basic minimum level of resources to any non-profit organization which provides educational services of a non-exclusive nature and which meets certain tests of public accountability. It would not be difficult to construct a short list of workable tests.

The second new program would permit students to finance as much of their expenses as they wish through a government post-secondary education tax foundation. Students would agree to pay the foundation a small additional income tax depending upon how much they received for their educational expenses. At any time the accumulated tax a student returned was sufficient to cover the amount advanced plus interest, the student's obligation would end. Students could also pre-pay their full obligation whenever they wished. These provisions would be necessary because the student could always buy out of such a tax by simply paying tuition out of his current resources. However, the tax rates would be set at such a level that no more than one-quarter to one-half of the average amount advanced would ever be recovered. That loss would constitute a new form of student aid and would be financed out of general tax revenue paid by us all. Student aid in this form would be distributed in an ideal way—according to the level of the student's future income.

In this way students would finance institutional costs over and above that covered by basic institutional grants. These differential costs would arise from the higher cost of more unusual or more advanced instruction. But the student would play a stronger role in deciding how much of that higher-cost instruction he should undertake.

A Lottery System for Higher Education

by

Laurence B. DeWitt

Laurence B. DeWitt—A Research Fellow at the Center with a strong background in economics, DeWitt previously had an article in the "Right to Read" issue of Notes *(II, 1 Fall 1970) when he collaborated with A. Dale Tussing on "The Costs of Illiteracy."*

Let us look for a moment at higher education in terms of a set of trade-offs between three interests: students, society, and the colleges. The students have two, not entirely separable, interests in higher education. First, and most obviously, higher education is the path to desirable and lucrative jobs. And a college education is increasingly *necessary* for such jobs. Second, there is a range of aesthetic, self-fulfilling and maturing interests which higher education can satisfy. These are internal—they are intangibles.

Society or "The Public" has interests very much parallel to those of students. First, it has a need for trained personnel: engineers, lawyers, doctors, soldiers, and so forth. Second, there are collective benefits from having an enlightened citizenry which is some-

what knowledgeable about and interested in art, science, public affairs, and so forth. We can note at this point that these social or public interests match up with the interests of the students: in both cases there is an occupational and also an "enlightenment" concern.

Consider, for a moment, that the primary interests of the colleges and universities may be altogether different. They are largely concerned about prestige—their own prestige as compared to that of other colleges and universities. Institutions of higher education are popularly misunderstood to be primarily concerned with teaching and research. This is a fallacy. They are primarily concerned with raising or at least maintaining their position in the academic hierarchy or pecking-order. An administrator's prestige and status are very much a function of the prestige of the college or university where he works. A faculty member's prestige and status are also very much related to the pecking-order of the college where he is employed, but it is also a function of his personal standing in his field, which is determined by his research.

None of this should be taken to mean that colleges, administrators, or faculty are not concerned with teaching. *They are.* Nor does this mean that faculty members and administrators are not concerned with serving the public interest. In fact, it might be argued that, taken as a whole, the professional academic community is more personally and sincerely concerned about furthering the public interest than any other major occupational group.

Nonetheless, we must continue and ask: In what form is this concern expressed? The suggestion here is that, like almost all people, their own interests, careers, ambitions, status, and so forth come first. I see the colleges—faculty and administrators—working on behalf of the public interest once their own fundamental and personal prestige concerns have been satisfied. And this satisfaction comes from their particular college admitting the most highly qualified students they can lay their hands on. The reason is simple: the better the students attending a particular college, the greater is its prestige. Of course, there are secondary reasons too. For instance, most faculty members derive more pleasure from teaching bright students than from teaching the duller ones. But the primary motive remains that of maintaining or enhancing the academic status of the institution.

Another way of looking at academic prestige and status—and the way in which it is usually discussed by administrators and faculty members—is in terms of standards—maintaining standards. One might well ask: Well, what's wrong with maintaining standards? Certainly we do not want low quality higher education. The question here concerns the definition of "standards" and "quality." And the problem is that these terms—standards and quality—are usually used to refer to the students themselves as inputs to the higher education process, *not* to their growth, development, or learning. It refers to something that has already happened to the students *before* they attend college, rather than to the quality of the process they undergo while attending college. It is worth noting that there are virtually no measures of the "value added" to an individual, or his learning, in the course of his college education. We can observe that the "best" schools produce what are in some sense the "best" graduates, but we cannot tell if this is simply because these schools begin with the best high school graduates in the first place. This tells us nothing about how much the college *adds* to its students. Nor does it tell us anything about which sorts of schools are most likely to make the greatest contribution to which types of students. In this area there is almost a total knowledge vacuum, *despite the fact that it is the single most important question about the substance of higher education.*

There is, of course, a social equity principle behind the notion that the best students should be admitted to higher education, and that the best students should be placed in the best colleges, the mediocre students in mediocre colleges, and so forth. The principle has been labelled "merit." The best high school students are seen as being the most deserving of or the most able to utilize the best higher education. As was pointed out above, there simply is no data available on who is able to utilize what sort of higher education how well. And the former point—concerning who *deserves* any or what sort of higher education—constitutes an enormous, problematic assumption. One might equally well argue that the academically dullest deserve it the most, because they are the most in need. Similarly, one could argue that since higher education is increasingly a publicly provided service, and that since "possessing" a higher education confers enormous monetary benefits on the specific individuals who receive it, that *all* persons should be provided an equal chance to gain this publicly conferred benefit. Given that there exists a hierarchy or pecking-order of

colleges, and given that the educations and degrees offered by the "top" schools are more valuable than those offered by the "bottom" schools, it can be contended that all applicants should be provided an equal chance of being admitted to the school of their choice. This could be done by a device similar to that now employed for distributing a major publicly conferred burden: the military draft lottery. Although this may strike many as a radical proposal, it should be noted that colleges using a random admissions procedure would in fundamental ways be similar to the now rather "traditional" comprehensive high schools.

We must now ask what all of this has to do with public policy and the public interest. It seems reasonable to look at this in terms of two major concerns: First, the welfare of the society as a whole—our collective interests, and, second, the fair and equitable treatment of the individuals comprising our society.

Concerning the first of these, it is clear that we, as a society, benefit from having the best possible doctors, lawyers, politicians, engineers, and so forth. It is possible to extend this concern into a very "elitist" position: This top leadership strata of our society is by far our most important national resource—the better they are, the more developed and advanced our entire society becomes, and we all share in this progress. Therefore, every possible educational advantage should be directed to these future leaders. But it is also possible to look at this same concern in an entirely different way. It is quite reasonable to argue that these same "heir apparents" to the power structure of the nation will rise to the top positions regardless of whether or not they go to Harvard and Berkeley. Furthermore, if one senses that the major problems and crises confronting this society fall into the range which can broadly be described as "human" and "distributional" rather than "technical" and "aggregate," such as poverty and the distribution of income and jobs, racial antagonisms, interpersonal cooperation, communication, and coordination, and so forth, then doesn't it seem quite reasonable to suggest that the last thing we need is a fairly rigid, hierarchical system of education in which the wealthy and middle class tend to dominate the "better" schools, while the lower income classes and the blacks tend to populate the "worst" schools?

The second major public policy concern—the fair and equitable treatment of all individuals in the society—can be looked at in similar terms. There are several different principles of equality which can be employed, and they result in drastically different conclusions. The "merit" or "excellence" principle has already been described: Those who are in some sense most "able" or most "accomplished" are seen as being the most deserving. This can be viewed as entirely complementary to the "elitist" and "heir apparent" positions just outlined.

But there is also a contrary, more egalitarian, principle of equity. It, too, was mentioned earlier. Higher education is increasingly a public activity. It confers considerable monetary and other advantages upon those who receive it. Certain individuals should not be favored over other individuals in this gigantic public sweepstake? Furthermore, it would do much to reduce such enormous domestic crises as poverty and the distribution of income, and frictions between races and income classes were we to establish a more fully equal system of higher education in which everyone regardless of race, creed, sex, academic achievement, or native intelligence, is given an equal chance to reap the benefits of higher education. A lottery system for selection into higher education and into particular institutions of higher education appears to be one way to accomplish that social objective.

So far I have talked rather broadly about social interest and social equity. These clearly are fully legitimate public policy concerns. But there is also a more immediate way in which a lottery system is of relevance to educational policy.

Throughout this century—and especially during the last twenty years—higher education has undergone an enormous quantitative expansion. This has been the direct result of an increasing demand by the public for the benefits which a college education provides. So far higher education has done a fairly satisfactory job of meeting this demand. But I suspect that this satisfaction will be very short-lived, *even if the number of new openings in higher education continues to grow at past rates.*

The reasoning is simple. For those social groups recently admitted for the first time to higher education, this has represented a dramatic step forward for themselves personally and for the society as a whole. But where have those "newly admitted" social groups been placed in higher education? I referred earlier to the existence of a fairly clearly defined pecking-order of higher education institutions. It is fairly obvious

that the newly admitted social groups (largely middle class and lower middle class blacks and whites) have been funneled for the most part into the lowest reaches of the higher educational hierarchy. So far this has not caused many problems because the simple act of admission to higher education—any form of higher education—has seemed quite impressive. After all, *it is a college education.* But the real question is not simply "Who gets a college education." It also involves asking "What kind" of an education and "How good" an education.

Starkly put, for how long will lower-middle and low income parents and students, especially black ones, be content with what they have good reason to regard as a "second class" higher education? Not only are more public dollars spent on your education if you go to a "better" school, but also you are more likely subsequently to earn a higher income.

Given the massive criticism of higher education from many quarters in the past few years, a new attack on higher education from this equity ("who goes where") basis could expect to find many allies waiting in the wings. This would be especially so if such new discontent was expressed in terms of equal educational opportunity. And this seems most likely. The massive "experiment" with open admissions in the City University of New York can be viewed as one major step in this direction.

A random admissions procedure would be one obvious institutional response to such discontent and criticism. Less extensive, but still satisfactory, responses might be possible. But if my prognosis is correct, the institutional response will have to be quite drastic—drastic on the order and degree of widespread adoption of a lottery system for admission to colleges.

Credentialism in our Ignorant Society

by

Michael Marien

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Every society—whether pre-industrial, industrial, or post-industrial—must have some procedure or procedures for social selection or determining who will occupy important positions.

In a simple society, there are few positions of importance and the occupants of these positions are generally determined by a single and simple criterion such as heredity. There are no requirements to be a peasant, or even an unskilled factory worker. But in a complex, interdependent, service society, there are many roles to be filled requiring a high level of skills and knowledge, and we increasingly employ—or should employ—many sophisticated measures for selecting those who will occupy such roles.

Indeed, it is important to recognize an emerging knowledge society, where the various sources of employment depending on the production and utilization of knowledge may account for one-half of the total national product by the end of this decade. To survive as such a society, we require sophisticated producers and users of information. Without such sophistication in our labor force and our citizenry, we cannot function as a society any more than the military can conduct successful operations without adequate intelligence, intelligently used. The processes of encouraging excellence, and selecting the best men and women for the broadening upper labor force increasingly becomes a fundamental concern for the public interest.

But as we move to a post-industrial society, we find many organizations and practices, established in other times for other purposes, to be obsolete. Such obsolescence can also be found in our procedures for social selection.

The set of practices that we presently use involve credentials, examinations, accreditation, awards, patronage, nepotism, measurement of job performance, and human judgment. Each practice has been studied singly to some degree, but the entire array—or system—is seldom if ever considered. Such an overview will not be attempted here, although much could be said about the deficiencies of examinations and their contribution to unequal opportunity, or the superficial criteria for accrediting institutions that often inhibit excellence instead of promote it.

Rather, several brief comments will be addressed to our use of credentials, for it is this practice, perhaps above all others, that characterizes our system of social selection. And our worship of credentials has created numerous problems.

1. *Artificial Demand for Education.* The demand for credentials creates an artificial demand for the services of educating institutions. There are many who attend classes primarily for gaining a credential and not for purposes of learning. Learning may nevertheless take place, but it is forced learning, creating a distaste for the self-directed inquiry that is increasingly necessary throughout one's life. Graduate programs in education are a notable example where enhancement of professional capability is rarely an outcome and where dependencies on classrooms and programs are created.

2. *Artificial Restraints to Learning.* In our complex society, there is much for all of us to learn, and there are many people who wish to learn but are restrained from doing so by credentialism. Even where there is no scarcity of instructional resources or limited job opportunities, enrollment in courses and programs is restricted by using diplomas as entry passes, rather than judging one on what he knows or is willing and able to learn.

3. *Overlooking Obsolescence.* Credentials do not reflect obsolescence. Our tradition of awarding diplomas dates back to a time when knowledge was relatively static and an individual could be reasonably educated for a lifetime upon leaving an institution. This is obviously not the case today, and in some areas of learning, such as engineering, an individual is considered obsolete in 5 or 10 years if he has not pursued his continuing education. Even in the liberal arts, there are many differences in the experience represented in a college diploma awarded in 1970, as opposed to one awarded in 1950 or 1930. If education is dramatically changed in forthcoming years—as advocated by many contemporary critics—the degrees awarded in the past will become even more obsolete.

Because we have yet to formally recognize the era of the decaying degree, there are many individuals who are ostensibly qualified by virtue of their diplomas, who would not measure up to contemporary standards. In this respect, the young, who are presumably up-to-date upon graduation, are at a relative disadvantage to the old.

4. *Generational Inversion.* The young are at an advantage over the old, however, because despite many deficiencies they are increasingly better prepared for the future, and they are given degrees that may or may not reflect their superiority over the old. In many—but certainly not all—respects, the skills and knowledge of the young are more relevant to our emerging society, and the young do not suffer from the burden of having to unlearn the old ways in order to accommodate the new. This problem of actual differences is aggravated by the false differences imposed by credentialism. The young are increasingly given degree-credit for the same learning that had not been credited in the past. Moreover, there are many older people who have acquired important knowledge and skills—through work experience, formal classes in non-degree granting educating institutions, or in self-directed learning projects—which is not reflected in degree-credit or credentials.

5. *Artificial Social Classes.* There is an immense variation among institutions granting ostensibly similar diplomas, as well as among individuals within an institution who obtain the same diploma. To treat all high school graduates as possessing the same level of "education" is a convenient pseudo-egalitarian fiction encouraged by sociologists, pollsters, and employers. Rather, in the knowledge society, we are creating artificial social classes of high school graduates, college graduates, and advanced degree holders—refusing to recognize that the variation among degree-holders may be as great as the variation between degree-holders and non-degree holders. And thus, in the

midst of pseudo-egalitarianism, we also have pseudo-meritocracy.

6. *The Myth of the Well-Educated Nation.* It is a dangerous illusion to count the growing proportion of degree-holders in our population and conclude that we are well-educated relative to the past, or even that we are over-educating as a result of unemployment among scientists. Through better formal and informal learning, we obviously know more about man, nature, and society than in the past. But "progress" related to past attainments is not an appropriate measure of what we need to know. Rather, the changing attributes of our society requires more learning and new forms of learning. If we set contemporary standards of what we should know, relative to what we actually know, we may find a growing gap between needs and attainments, and an increasingly ignorant society. This fundamental observation is inhibited by counting degree-holders and proclaiming that we are consequently well-educated.

* * * * *

The six problems outlined here—artificial demand for education, artificial restraints to learning, overlooking obsolescence, generational inversion, artificial social classes, and the myth of the well-educated nation—are only suggestive of the difficulties arising from credentialism. As we evolve to a knowledge-dependent but not-yet-knowledgeable society, these problems of tomorrow will be aggravated until they finally surface as serious public issues.

We could act now by informing ourselves about social selection and consciously shaping the entire system of practices to fit our national goals or we could let matters muddle along and evolve unconsciously, as in the past. But in doing so, we shall suffer severe social costs of by-passed excellence and restraints to learning. Whether or not we consciously take action, there are three basic alternatives for the future that appear more probable and desirable than the present system, which cannot survive much longer.

—A genuine meritocracy would insure that credentials reflect abilities for all persons at all places and at all times. All diplomas would be temporary and contingent on mandatory renewal examinations, and adults would necessarily be provided with every possible opportunity for continuing their learning and keeping up with the young. Changing standards of merit would insure that we no longer succumb to the myth of being well-educated.

—At the other extreme, we might virtually abandon our use of credentials and minimize the use of examinations. The need for excellence would be satisfied by actual job performance. In education, for example, proven ability to facilitate learning would be the only job requirement, and, where there are many applicants for a job, selection would be made after a probation period. This alternative would be compatible with the humanistic objectives that are widely advocated for tomorrow's education—such as schools without failure, non-grading at lower levels and pass/no pass at higher levels. It would suggest that everyone is capable of learning, and that it is necessary for everyone to maximize his learning.

—The third alternative would be a complex synthesis of the first two, adhering to the principles of multiple skills, multiple measures, and multiple chances—and perhaps loosely known as a "multi-meritocracy." We would value a wide range of human attributes and a wider range of social roles than at present. Excellence as a parent, an auto mechanic, and a policeman would be valued. Accordingly, multiple measures for selection would be judiciously employed. The use of credentials and examinations would become far less rigid, while at the same time extended, through optional renewal mechanisms, to recognize problems of obsolescence. Broader definitions would be employed so that excellence and diversity might be promoted in individuals and among institutions. And, in a society where serial careers will be necessary for many, multiple opportunities for self-renewal and career choice at any age would become widespread.

* * * * *

How could the federal government hasten one of these alternative futures—a matter that surely would appear to be fundamentally in the national interest?

At present, there is no conscious attempt by the federal government to regulate social selection. This is curious, for the government regulates civil rights, transportation, the stock market, agricultural prices, atomic energy, the power system, the environment, the monetary system, food and drugs, labor relations, and interstate commerce—all in an attempt to balance powers in the public interest. But the government is far from uninvolved in promoting credentialism, for

its hiring, funding and information collection all serve to aggravate the problems of credentialism in our ignorant society. Thus, the government could consider outside regulation, as well as internal reforms.

A wide variety of control options are possible, covering a spectrum from the laissez-faire of the present to full control of examinations, credentials, accreditation, and awards—which would be politically improbable and quite undesirable. But there are less extreme measures, such as better data collection, sponsored research, ad hoc investigation by Congressional committees or a Presidential commission, or a permament regulatory body. Indirect measures could also be taken through reconsidering Civil Service requirements, the utilization of so-called "educational attainment" measures by the Bureau of the Census, and the favoring of degree-granting institutions in the granting of funds and collecting of information.

It is paradoxical that, in our information-glutted society, so little is known on the total configuration of our social selection. Such a concern is not only fundamental to the future of our society, but can also yield a fresh approach to some of our educational and social problems. These comments will hopefully encourage further exploration.

Campus Disaffection, Present and Future

by

A. Dale Tussing

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No competent and well-known authority predicted the massive disaffection from our schools which is one of the major news stories of our times. And no competent and well-known authority is incapable of producing a lengthy and convincing list of ex post explanations.

There are then, plenty of explanations of disaffection with the schools. We do not propose to add another list. Instead, we have developed a way of looking at the disaffection problem, and at the "clients" of the school system, which has proved to be very helpful in understanding them. Our analysis focuses on the *purposes* of education, because we view disaffection as largely a crisis of purpose.

While these essays are explicitly concerned with post-secondary education, disaffection knows no such limits. Our analysis applies to secondary as well as post-secondary education. Disaffection is not the same as either disruption or unrest, though both almost certainly imply disaffection; one can be disaffected both quietly and alone.

Three Client Groups

Different groups use the schools for different things, but the dominant purpose of the American schools in recent decades has been for "making it." By *"making it"* we mean success in life—not just in economic terms, but also in terms of social legitimacy and status. In spite of our admiration of the "self-made man," in practice we expect people to use the schools to make it.

"Making it" includes upward economic and social mobility, but it is not identical with it. That is, children of the poor and disadvantaged are expected to "make it" through the schools, but so are the children of the successful. They are expected at least to go through the motions of "making it" all over again

each generation, and are expected to use the schools in doing so.

Let the schools' client population (pupils and parents, primarily) be sorted into three principal groups, namely, the *makers,* the *non-makers,* and the *post-makers.*

The first two, the makers and non-makers, have the same set of uses of the schools and goals of education, namely, making it, in the sense discussed. They differ from one another in an important respect, however: the makers use the schools successfully, while the non-makers do not. This does not mean that the makers will all be college or even high-school graduates. It means that they see the schools as a vehicle for attaining or assuring adequate success, in their own eyes; and for them the schools "work." The non-makers, on the other hand, either see themselves failing in the schools or see the schools failing them; that is, they accept that the schools have the function just mentioned, but the schools are not achieving this function in their case.

The Post-Makers

The third group, the post-makers, requires more discussion.

A large and growing minority of today's school-age generation have values which apparently differ radicaiiy from those of past generations, and one element in this shift has been what might be called a change in the importance of "success," in particular a decline in the significance of one's job. Attitudes towards jobs, income, and economic legitimacy are strikingly different among generations, as between the older which has known real poverty or real insecurity, or both, and which has lived through the most catastrophic industrial collapse in American economic history, and the younger generation which has experienced not only affluence but uninterrupted affluence, i.e., security. Rejection of traditional economic definitions of life's purposes is most common, moreover, among precisely those youth whose own family background have been the most comfortable and secure.

We are not saying that it is becoming common among young people to reject material well-being. Instead, *the point is that material well-being is increasingly taken for granted, and the quest for economic security has ceased to be a central task of life.* Moreover, from a plateau of economic sufficiency, many young people who have not experienced want place less emphasis on earning still more and more, than do a depression-and-war-shortage scarred older generation.

Where survival itself is no longer an issue, and where economic insecurity is really unknown, then one's "job" ceases to be the centerpiece of his life. The schools, both in their educating and their certifying functions, have closely keyed their own purposes to "jobs" and "success." *As the meaning of these declines in importance, so must the meaning of the schools.* The minority who have rejected the traditional purpose of the schools, and who are essentially beyond making it, are the group we have called the *post-makers.* Though there are noteworthy exceptions, by and large they are primarily the children of successful urban and suburban families. Some express their disaffection politically, some "culturally." Their concerns, in colleges and universities, in secondary schools, and even in junior high schools, range from revamping the curriculum and authority structure, to national politics and foreign policy, from astrology to ecology, and from mysticism to music and drugs. Lest the image conjured up by this description seems to apply to a tiny, far-out long-haired minority, let it be plain that there seem to us to be a much larger group of those young people who take for granted material security, who then reject as life's goal attaining or insuring it, who are casting about for some other sense of purpose in life—and who therefore reject the purposes of the makers.

Types of Disaffection

We believe it is useful to distinguish among different types of disaffection.

First there is the disaffection of non-makers, who accept that they are expected to make it through the schools, and who fail to do so. Without examining why they are non-makers (a crucial question), it should hardly be surprising if they are frustrated, resentful, and angry at themselves, or at the schools, or at those who demand that they make it, or some combination of these.

Second is the disaffection of makers who are members of the "group of last entry"—the term used elsewhere by Dr. Thomas F. Green to denote the last group in society to reach a particular level in a sequential educational ladder. As Dr. Green notes, this is

the only group in society absolutely unable to gain any distinction by completing that level—graduating from high school, for instance.

If the advance guard of the group of last entry are drawn from the same social, economic, and racial group as the non-makers, there will be reason for them to be disaffected whether or not they are successful in school.

Quite different is the disaffection of the post-makers, whose dissatisfaction with the schools is even less focused than that of the preceding two groups. Some will be merely bored by school—not because it is too easy, or too slow, but because what it is *about* does not interest them. Some will press for educational "relevance," a term open to a variety of interpretations. Some will seek alternatives to the regular school system. Some will dedicate themselves to political (including "revolutionary") purposes. These possibilities are derived from observation; there is no *a priori* way of knowing what fills a purpose-vacuum.

In spite of their differences, whether they are non-makers concentrated in urban areas, and mainly blacks and other racial minorities, or whether they are post-makers concentrated in suburban areas, and mainly affluent whites, both groups of disaffected often employ a common rhetoric. Since this is so, since their most politicized and articulate members view themselves as being in some kind of alliance, and since they are all, in any case, young people in a day of "youth culture" and "generation gap," it is easy to think of the disaffected as being one group, with a common set of attitudes and causes, and a common future. To do so would be a major mistake.

Disaffection and Conflict

Disaffection and conflict are not the same. As noted, one can be disaffected all by himself. But when groups with conflicting values and purposes are brought together in large groups, and when one or more groups are disaffected, then conflict, and occasionally violence, is a predictable consequence.

It is no exaggeration to say that our schools are dominated by makers. They are the most numerous group among the client population. Even though in the post-secondary area, among the students though not the parents, the numbers of post-makers is rapidly catching up with that of makers, it is still true that faculty, administrators, superintendents, regents and other lay boards, and elected public officials are virtually without exception drawn from the maker group. And when all college and university students across the U.S.A. are considered, makers still surely predominate.

This group of makers is liable to view non-makers as trouble-making failures, whose disaffection and academic failures are viewed as separate and mutually reinforcing. They are liable to view last-entry makers as non-makers. And they are likely to view post-makers as incomprehensible, unappreciative, and unrealistic, and occasionally as products of excessive permissiveness, as dangerously radical, as self-indulgent hedonists, or just as "campus bums."

The three disaffected groups will have equally unpleasant notions of the dominant maker group, viewing them as racist and manipulative, or at best crass sell-outs. It will be easy to develop political, class, and/or racial arguments against that dominant group, and these arguments can easily be vested with moralistic connotations.

The Future of Disaffection

There is great interest in the question of whether disaffection and conflict in the schools will subside or continue, and if they are to continue whether they will take familar or entirely new forms. Our analysis suggests that they will continue, but that they will take somewhat different forms. We will discuss the future we see, under headings corresponding to the three client groups discussed earlier.

Non-makers. Conflict and disaffection associated with non-makers will continue for a decade and beyond.

One reason is the problem of motivation. If for racial, economic, and/or institutional reasons, members of the non-maker group cannot in fact "make it" in vocations no matter how well they do in school, or if it appears to them that they cannot, then there is little that can be done *in the schools* to make makers out of them.

Another problem is the tendency of advantaged groups in American society to take over for themselves promising special programs intended as compensatory, remedial efforts for non-makers. Unless remedial pro-

grams can be devised which are at the same time effective and acceptable to non-makers and in some way unavailable and/or unattractive to the remainder of society, it is difficult to employ the school system or extra-school-system programs to make makers out of non-makers.

And third, by 1987, it is anticipated that 90% of 18-year olds will have successfully completed grade twelve, leaving only 10% of the eligible population as non-makers by that definition. As this last percentage falls, the remaining group of non makers contains an increasing proportion of emotionally and/or mentally handicapped young people, for whom the social costs of completing that level may be very considerable, even when compared with the social benefits. Since some of the handicaps—including retardation—may be (or seem to be) socially imposed rather than genetic, and since for a variety of reasons blacks and other minority groups may be overrepresented in this residual pool of non-makers, it will be difficult either to accept failure for this group or to deal with it through special (segregated) schools, even were that thought to be educationally sound. They will be in the schools, in short. The prospect of a smaller and hence more isolated group of non-makers, comprised more heavily of emotionally, mentally, and physically handicapped children, and drawn heavily from lower socio-economic groups and from non-white races, is one of continuing conflict.

Makers. Many of the parents who have urged their children to work hard, stay with it, and "get an education" by finishing secondary school, will soon begin to find that those with only a secondary school diploma are not socially regarded as having an education. Employers who today use the high school diploma (together with one's arrest record and other "objective data") as job-rationing devices and as proxies for desired traits will by then find that the high-school diploma, since virtually everyone has one, neither rations jobs nor is a proxy for any distinguishing trait.

This is what Prof. Green elsewhere in this volume refers to as the "Law of the Moving Target"; as the group of last entry attains the level in the system (e.g., completing grade twelve) that is socially deemed to separate "educated" from "uneducated," this target moves on to a higher level.

The important implication is that even if the schools do their job thoroughly and effectively, and educate everyone through the twelfth grade (or any other level), *it may be impossible for everyone to be a maker.* The definition of "maker" may change.

The moving target, then, like the Northern-city myth among an earlier group of Southern blacks, may be explosive in its implications. However, these effects may be felt mainly outside the schools, since it will appear to be employers and society at large, rather than the schools, which have broken promises.

Post-makers. There are many scenarios involving post-makers. The relative and absolute size of the post-maker group will grow, and this growth has potentially powerful consequences, not only for the subject matter of this paper, but for the continued existence of the schools, their curricula, and their authority structures.

Post-makers are already a dominant group among undergraduates at a few colleges and universities. As time passes, they will become the dominant group at others. The progression will probably run from the most elite private, and in a few cases, public colleges and universities, to the most academically prestigious state universities, to the state colleges, and finally to the two-year community colleges. A similar progression will run through secondary schools, with post-makers becoming dominant in the student body of increasing numbers of private and suburban public high schools. While these developments set up the familiar conflict between the student on the one hand and the faculty, administration, parents and community on the other, the conflict is complicated by two other possibilities. First, the growth of the post-maker group will mean that in some suburban school districts and private universities, the post-maker group may soon become dominant not only among students, but also among faculty, administration, and even parents. At the other extreme is the possibility that post-makers may come to see their life's purpose as being achieved wholly outside of and independently of the schools.

Speculating on the consequences of these developments is hazardous. For one thing, our expression, "post-maker," reveals that we only know what the group is *not*, what phase it has passed, and not what it *is*; like "post-industrial," "post-capitalist," "post-Christian,"—and even "post-secondary"—(or like "non-white," "non-poor," or "non-violent"), it is a term re-

vealing more ignorance than understanding. To say that increasing numbers of participants in the school system will demand that schools serve some purpose other than "making it" does not suggest what that purpose will be; it does not even suggest that there actually *is* an alternative purpose to be found.

To assume that schools will turn to teaching people who want to learn for the sake of learning would be, we think, naive. A few people may accept such a purpose, but the majority will not. And such a statement does not provide a unique curriculum. *What* shall we learn, for the sake of learning it?

Implied Policies

The policy prescriptions arising out of this analysis are more in the nature of "don'ts" than "do's." This reflects a need to be sensitive to the dangers inherent in the situation, in spite of the difficulties in forecasting.

(1) *There are dangers inherent in a policy of forcing post-makers to act out the maker role.* This is one current reaction; its results are disaffection and alienation.

(2) *As post-makers cast about for new life purposes, there are dangers in school authorities, following each student whim as if it were a new definition of the purpose of existence.* While older people may think they are Liberal or Modern if they side with students in every issue, actually this is not very helpful to those who desperately need guidance.

(3) *If colleges, universities and secondary schools, whether public or private but particularly public, are dominated by and essentially controlled by post-makers, there is the danger that they will come under far greater criticism by newspaper editors, political figures, community groups, and parents than is now the case.* There is much greater potential for mutual alienation and polarization in our scenario than even in the present polarized world. The independence of schools may be threatened by legislative bodies at all levels of government. It is hard to imagine passing through the next decade without disruption, conflict and violence, and with no loss of academic freedom.

(4) *There is the danger that as post-makers come to dominate more and more colleges and local school districts, and as the purposes of the schools change, making the schools more "relevant" to post-makers may make them irrelevant to non-makers.* Some of the changes proposed by school reformers, to make them more open, free, and interesting, derive from the needs of post-makers and may conflict with the needs of the disadvantaged.

Concluding Comments

Our two concluding comments sound more like those of a sermon than of policy analysis. If that is so, it is because that is what seems called for.

First, it is clearly important to maintain a variety of types of educational experience, and it is equally important that attention be given to the standing and reputation of each type. A truly pluralistic school system, with tolerance as well as variety, is the type most likely to minimize disaffection and conflict.

And second, it is possible, in seeking new purposes for the schools, that (1) no alternative purpose can be found at all; or (2) no alternative purpose can be agreed upon; or (3) the new, agreed-upon purpose is one which the schools are incapable of fulfilling. In all this, we should remember that it is more important that post-makers find a purpose in life than that schools find a new reason for being. But there ought to be a connection.

Breaking the System: The Redistribution of Educational and Non-educational Goods

by

Thomas F. Green

Thomas F. Green—Co-Director of the Center and Professor of Education at Syracuse University, he recently had published a textbook on the philosophy of education, The Activities of Teaching. *He is currently exploring the concepts embodied in the phrase "equality of educational opportunity" in order to more thoroughly inform research on educational policy options.*

It is almost an axiom of American educational policy that we expect the expansion of post-secondary education to bring about a redistribution of certain other goods in life. It will not do so, and this paper explains why.

Every educational system is a system for the distribution of certain goods and benefits. Never mind for the moment, what those goods and benefits are. We shall get to that soon enough. To say that every educational system must distribute goods and benefits is simply a convenient way of saying that some will learn more than others; some will become more skillful than others; some will develop better judgment than others, some will advance farther than others, and so forth. So what else is news! The question is not whether such results will occur, but whether they can be made to occur in a way that advances other goals of policy and promotes other socially desirable ends like justice, economic well-being, and human development.

It may be necessary and inevitable that the educational system distribute educational goods and benefits, like knowledge, skills, and taste. But there is no necessity or inevitability that the society distribute non-educational goods like jobs, status, and income, to accord with the distribution of educational goods and benefits. If we distinguish between educational and non-educational goods, then the strategic question for the society has to do with the linkage between these different kinds of life goods. The trauma of the issue is dramatically summed up in the observation that what counts is not what college does for you if you do go, but what it does to you if you don't.

The educational system must distribute its benefits in certain identifiable ways, to certain people, and for certain purposes. Thus the pattern of distribution generally is related immediately to (1) how the system distributes its benefits, (2) to whom it distributes them, (3) at what time, and (4) for what purposes. These issues, in the American scene are especially important for the post-secondary sector. They relate directly to problems of (1) access, (2) quality, and (3) goals. It is possible to see why and how this happens from the following exercise.

Imagine an educational system with just three features.

(1) It is sequential.
(2) There is a level that everyone completes.
(3) Beyond that level, the system is selective.

Imagine, furthermore, that this educational system exists in a society strongly committed to the belief that education is good, and more of it will be better, primarily because it is a powerful instrument in gaining access to the good things in life—jobs, income and so forth. I shall refer to this as the belief in educational efficacy.

These systemic characteristics are nearly satisfied in the American situation where the belief in the efficacy of education is an article of faith. That fact has enormous influence on the ways that we think about policies for post-secondary education. Consider these features of the system one by one.

Our educational system is sequential. That is to say, it is structured so that, on the whole, in order to enter a particular level, one must have completed the preceding level. The presence of this structural feature is one reason we tend to assume that educational opportunity is enlarged by encouraging more and more people to go on to the next level of the system, that is, by encouraging them to stay in school longer.

The second of the three characteristics above is important because in any educational system, if everyone completes a particular level of the system, then there can be no correlation between completing that level and any other social differences that may subsequently arise in the society. There may remain significant advantages in completing that level in a certain way, but there can be none in merely completing that level of the system. In the United States we are approaching this point of zero-correlation at the level of grade twelve. In a society where the purpose of attaining higher and higher levels of education is the presumed advantage it gives in securing jobs, income and other goods of life, then when everyone completes high-school, for example, the relative advantages reduce to zero. If the belief in the efficacy of education is to be preserved, there must occur pressures to expand the system above the high-school. The point of this principle can be given a poignant rendering. The reason we have a drop out problem in this country is not because there are lots of drop outs, but because there are not lots of them. In a society where there are lots of drop-outs, being one is no problem. But as the society approaches the point of zero-correlation at grade twelve, it is not simply belief in the efficacy of education that is threatened. As that point is approached it will necessarily become more of an individual disaster not to complete grade twelve, but by the same token it will become less of a benefit to complete it. Completing grade twelve is transformed from a beneficial choice to a necessity. Clearly two assumptions are strong in this process—the assumption of the efficacy of education, and the assumption that the system must be sequential.

Consider the third component in this imaginary system. In saying that the system is selective beyond grade twelve, I mean to suggest not simply that some go on and some do not or that some choose to go on and some choose not to. I mean that among those that choose to go on some are chosen, and some are not. The mission of the comprehensive high school was to eventually include everyone. It was, in principle, an inclusive mission. Until recently, however, it had not been the mission of the post-secondary system to include everyone. Colleges typically have admissions offices; high schools typically do not. There are exceptions to both. But in general the American system is selective just beyond that point where we are approaching zero-correlation.

When we add to these considerations one additional generalization, the distributive problems of post-secondary education come into view. It simply is a fact that no society in the world has been able to expand its educational enterprise to include participation of the lower class in proportion to their numbers until the system is first saturated by the upper and middle classes. In short, there is a definable law that governs the sequence in which people will benefit from any expansion of the system. There will be a group of last entry as the system approaches one-hundred per cent participation at some level, and that group of last entry will be from the lower socio-economic strata of society.

This fact has interesting implications. The motive for members of the group of last entry to finish at grade twelve will probably be to gain the same benefits from the system as others have gained. Given the belief in the efficacy of education and given the sequential nature of the system, the pressure will be to go farther in the system. Thus, as the group of last entry approaches their target, the target will move. This phenomenon will be associated with race only in a society where membership in the group of last entry is associated with race. It is a phenomenon clearly resulting from the sequential structure of the system together with a belief that non-educational goods are distributed on the basis of educational goods and benefits.

The implications of this state of affairs are too numerous to discuss briefly. But some can be mentioned. First of all, such a system as I have described has no clearly defined inherent limits on its growth. In a society that believes in the value of education and that more of it will be better, the natural tendency will be to make the system expand to ever higher and higher levels. In fact, it can expand in any or all of five ways—(1) in response to changes in the composition of the population, (2) by extending the system upward, (3) or downward, (4) by expanding outward to take in more and more activities heretofore conducted outside the system, or (5) by intensification of effort within the system (to accomplish more in the same time or the same in less time). Three of these modes of growth will result in leading people to spend more of their lives in the educational system. None of them will lead to fundamental change in the structure of the system.

We are reaching the point at which growth at the top can occur only in the post-secondary sector. But

policies aimed simply at expanding the system are impoverished in their conception. They offer an unchanging answer to the question as to how the system distributes its benefits to whom at what time, and for what purpose. It does so by schools, school attendance and school programs to certain age groupings for the purpose of more equitably distributing life chances. That is the same old story all over again.

But clearly there are limits beyond which it is no longer socially beneficial, or, more importantly, educationally valuable, to encourage people to stay in school for a longer and longer sequence of years. We must recognize two points. As schooling becomes universal, that is prima facia evidence that the opportunity to go to school is universalized. But it is also prima facia evidence that the necessity of schooling has been universalized. In other words, the attainment of universal post-secondary schooling appears to represent a goal of maximizing the choice for education beyond the high school. But in fact, such a target may only represent the elimination of any choice. Schooling, under such circumstances becomes a necessity, not a choice.

But secondly, we must ask whether there are any conditions under which it would be socially beneficial or educationally valuable for people to spend half their lives in schools. One-third? Three quarters? There is a limit at some point, a limit to what is educationally valuable to do. Does the mere extension of the system into the post-secondary sector cross that point? People will answer the question in different ways. But uncritical adoption of growth policies for the system will answer this question without having asked it. The question is especially poignant at a time when youth are maturing earlier, and when it is increasingly acknowledged that interruptions in the sequence of schooling are often educationally more valuable than adherence to the sequential structure of the system itself. For example, it is not implausible to conjecture that there are enormous numbers of talented youth who might benefit more educationally by leaving the system before completing high school and returning later at a point beyond high school. Uncritical adoption of growth policies for post-secondary education not only will fail to confront these issues, but will merely defer the point at which further upward growth will force the same issues to emerge at a somewhat higher level. Thus, such targets for policy do not, by themselves, confront the questions as to how, to whom, at what time, and for what social and educational purposes the system will distribute its benefits. They do not examine the question as to how educational and non-educational goods shall be linked in their distribution.

The strategic policy questions have to do not with how to extend the system into the post-secondary sector, but with how to alter the structure of the system itself and therefore change its pattern of growth. For these purposes, the sensitive points to attack are the assumptions that the system should be sequential and the assumption that it should be selective beyond grade twelve. The pattern of selectivity is and will continue to be the point of first attack. But ultimately what must be changed is the assumption that the system will distribute its benefits within a certain sequence of years.

Consider the effects of the following set of policy proposals. We need to move toward a national policy that provides for each individual a litigous claim to fifteen years of education at public expense. But this intention should be framed with no assumption that those years will be spent consecutively in formal schools, nor should there be any but the most general restrictions at the upper levels as to what the content should be or whether it occurs in core or peripheral institutions. If a man reaches fifty and has claimed only twelve years, he should be entitled to three more. If a child chooses to leave school for several years at grade ten, and can enter again at grade thirteen, then he should be entitled to five more. Such a direction of change should be accompanied by lowering the school-leaving age to fourteen, and subsequently with the removal of compulsory education laws from grade one progressively up.

The consequences of such measures would probably include the following. First, the social demand for education, expressed as a demand for formal schooling in an established sequence of years, would tend to decline. The opportunity for education might once again become a choice to be exercised rather than a necessity to be undertaken. Secondly, the forms in which education takes place might be greatly expanded. We might move more rapidly in the direction of an educating system rather than the more limited notion of a system of schools and colleges. Thirdly, the attainment of education would tend to be distributed not over longer and longer consecutive periods in the life of the individual, but over shorter spans of time in the entire life cycle of an individual. This,

in turn, would facilitate the human demand to be able to change directions in the course of a single life. Such a set of policy measures would tend to break the sequential structure of the system and transcend the selective assumptions of the post-secondary sector. But more important, it would hopefully tend to render advanced education once more an opportunity to be chosen for the development of human beings rather than a social necessity to be born in order to gain access to non-educational goods.

New Policy Directions for Post-secondary Education

by

Warren L. Ziegler

Warren L. Ziegler—Co-Director of the Center, regular readers of Notes *are already familiar with him through his three-part essay published in the first three issues of the magazine. Primarily concerned with the process of policy making and implementation, he is currently gathering together his notes and writings in preparation for bringing them together into a book. Ziegler is also Adjunct Professor of Adult Education at Syracuse University.*

Federal policy for higher education critically needs to be transformed into a new policy for post-secondary education, about which there is too little clarity, less agreement, and no policy. Since the end of the Second World War, policies for higher education have promoted a thrust towards mass education beyond high school for an additional—and sequential—two to four years of schooling in colleges and universities. Burgeoning state systems of public higher education and the rapid expansion of community colleges during the 60's are major features of this thrust. These policies have directly encouraged the application of the central features of the K-12 formal system of schooling to this system of mass higher education, at the very moment in history when these features are under serious criticism and when the goals and outcomes of schooling are under serious dispute.

In effect, federal and state policies towards higher education have yet to take cognizance of crucial and significant shifts under way in the social meanings of higher education. One major shift lies in the domain of education beyond high school—that is, the totality of individual and institutional behavior which is educational. Stanley Moses' essay directly addresses this shift by redefining the boundaries of the domain to encompass the educational behavior of a "learning force."

But other changes, equally significant, are also occurring. These changes involve redefinition of *the objectives* or goals of this education beyond high school. They also involve changes in the societal *context* of values, beliefs, social structure and economic organization within which this education is imbedded. A transformation of policy can emerge only if these shifts in domain, objectives, and context are widely understood by both the formal, policy-making apparatus and the policy constituents. That understanding does not now exist.

What is post-secondary education? The policy is confused over this question. Confusion and, increasingly, disagreement prevail about what education beyond high school is for and who it is for—that is, about the grand question of purposes and goals. This confusion and disagreement translates into operational issues of when, where, and how this education is to take place. Most public policy debate locates these issues in the arena of *higher education.* This set of essays on *Post-Secondary Education: Where Do We Go From Here?* seeks to shift the focus of that debate by utilizing the phrase *post-secondary education.* This term may be unsatisfactory, for like the now popular phrase "post-industrial society," it tells us only that we are moving beyond one stage in educational history, but does not tell us what stage we may be moving into.

The task which confronts federal policy formulation for post-secondary education is therefore indeed difficult. Policy-makers are confronted with many recommendations—from foundations, research organizations, professional associations, academicians, students, and lobbies—about how to remedy a rapidly deteriorating situation in higher education. If the drift of these recommendations, which represent articulated public opinion, were clear, federal policy could provide legitimacy to these directions by ranking them among the educational priorities of the nation. But that drift does not yet clearly emerge. An examination of the behaviors of students and other learners in the adult population, the behaviors of employing institutions, and the behaviors of educating institutions presents a confusing picture. The social meaning of these behaviors are subject to widely varied interpretations, which parallel the shifting sands of a fragmenting consensus about the purposes of education and the efficacy of existing institutions. This situation is hardly amenable to the formulation of traditional subsidy policies.

There is another reason which makes the task of formulating policy for post-secondary education difficult. In this domain and context, the major *instrument* of federal policy—and to a large extent state policy—is no longer appropriate. The instrument needs redefinition just as the domain, objectives, and context of federal policy need redefinition.

Federal policy for education, from pre-school to post-secondary, relies mainly on one lever: the expenditure of public funds. Public funds are collected through a variety of taxes according to one complex set of distributive criteria about who should bear the burden; they are dispersed back to the public through another set of complex distributive criteria about who should benefit. Money buys goods and services, of which the most important *educational benefits* are *the time to teach and learn, the space to teach and learn,* and *the content of teaching and learning.* But traditional notions about the times, spaces and contents for teaching and learning are undergoing rapid transition. The recipients of public funds no longer agree on them, which means they no longer agree on the educational benefits afforded by the goods and services available.

Consider the wide-ranging characteristics of time, space, and content contained, explicitly or implicitly, in the array of alternatives currently bandied about in the emerging domain of post-secondary education. Which is federal policy to promote: universal higher education; a guaranteed right to X years of formal schooling irrespective of when taken; institutional aid to maintain a cadre of private institutions of high repute; new kinds of technical education beyond high school paralleling the academic line of a liberal baccalaureate; external credit; the open university; the university without walls; non-categorical aid to states or other political jurisdictions; an electronic college of the air; a mandatory separation of employability from educational credentials; a new institutional and program emphasis to enable millions of adults to become functionally literate according to the needs of a complex, modern, changing society; or some mix of all these and more?

Federal policy establishes the criteria which determine the exchange of taxes for benefits in education and other sectors. Federal policy *is* the explication of criteria for the allocation of subsidies. These criteria represent what and who public policy considers education good for. These criteria define the educational circumstances within which private judgment and preference come into play. In the history of higher education, private judgments were heavily constrained by severe limitations on the financial and social capacity to exercise preferences, as Laurence De Witt's provocative essay clearly reminds us. In the promotion of mass higher education, federal policy has utilized the leverage of financial subsidy to diminish only certain specific constraints to individual preferences. As these constraints in fact begin to diminish —constraints primarily of race, socio-economic class and geography—other constraints to the exercise of private judgment and preference have emerged.

One primary constraint is the social power of the institutional set called credentials, certification, and accreditation. These are crucial features of the core system of schools and colleges. As Michael Marien explains, in an emerging "knowledge" society of complex specialization and division of labor, educational credentials have become the major common criteria for certifying the social usefulness, employability, and worth of an individual. Accreditation is almost universally accepted by public policy as the criterion for certifying the social usefulness, employability, and worth of an individual. Accreditation is almost universally accepted by public policy as the criterion for defining where knowledge resides, and allocating control of its discovery and dispersal.

A second primary constraint to the exercise of private judgment and preference is the massive re-emergence of the creed of egalitarianism in society which has moved with astonishing and self-defeating rapidity from an understanding of equality as meaning access or opportunity to an understanding of equality meaning condition and achievement. Thomas Green's essay speaks eloquently to the tremendously difficult problem of rupturing the ties between *educational* and *non-educational* benefits produced by this shift from a notion of opportunity to a notion of achievement.

The central question for policy is what and who post-secondary education is for—a question of purposes. But this question requires one or more ways to get an answer. The shifts of context, domain, and objectives of post-secondary education make it very difficult for the traditional instrument of federal subsidy to enable society to gain clarity about this central question. Note that federal policy has not yet found a way of dispersing public funds without circumscribing their use by setting forth rules, mandates or guidelines. That is, the lever of money—to extend the analogy—requires a fulcrum *and* equivalent counter-weights at both ends of the lever. The counter-weights, in our society, are a presumed agreement between policy-makers and policy constituents about the ways post-secondary education, of whatever form and kind, is good for society and good for the individuals and institutions whose educational activity is post-secondary. The fulcrum is the point at which these counter-weights balance, where the users of public funds, be they students, institutions or intervening agencies like banks and state education agencies, strike a bargain with the dispensers of funds, like legislative and executive governing agencies which interpret the social good or public interest. What is the bargain? The users will engage in formal behaviors (which may have little to do with the direct processes of learning) called for by the rules, mandates, and guidelines, in exchange for money which they judge necessary to serve their own educational purposes and interests. These purposes and interests result in preferential choices among the alternatives to which the policy rules, mandates, and guidelines subscribe.

But the consensus about these purposes and interests is eroding, which is another way of saying that public policy must multiply the number of viable alternatives. How rapidly that erosion is taking place requires more empirical research. How rapid it will become, in the decade of the Seventies, requires a sophisticated, complex set of forecasts which are only now being undertaken by various outlook agencies of which the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse is one. It seems clear to me, however, that the longer-term policy issue about the future directions of post-secondary education is not one of money and cost. As James Byrnes points out, we probably can afford whatever quantity of education after high school we want. But what we may choose to want in quantitative terms cannot be resolved unless and until we all become much clearer about what goals are to be served—a qualitative question about which there is increasing disagreement.

It is at least suggestive that two most sensitive indicators of consensus erosion are rising. One is the conservative posture of state legislatures about their continuing to increase the allocation of public funds at their disposal to higher public education vis-á-vis alternative uses. The other is the mounting level of efforts by users, clients, associations, R&D outfits, educational institutions and for-profit enterprises to explore alternative ways to do something called post-secondary education.

The first indicates a beginning erosion in the traditional belief that a college education is always good if you can get it. The first step in that erosion is to ask for what and for whom is it good? It is true that literally millions of young people from ethnic, socio-economic and regional groups previously denied access have taken advantage of higher educational opportunities since the enactment of the G.I. Bill, N.D.E.A. and the Higher Education Facilities Act. It is also true that perhaps scores of thousands of post-makers are behaving as if they are no longer clear as to what it is good for. Dale Tussing's essay sets forth the danger for federal policy to assume that campus disaffection is a uniform phenomenon, easily understood and readily ameliorated either by the infusion or denial of public funds to higher education.

It is difficult to forecast when an increase in the number of post-makers in proportion to makers becomes a critical enough mass to effect a substantial change in the social meaning of education. The significance of the concept of the post-maker is that changes in life-style and life-values among some students are closely linked with more pervasive transformations under way in economic organization, occupational structures, and the traditional notion of economic man so central to an industrializing society. As Tussing

points out, post-makers appear to be searching for social priorities and alternative self-definitions which are not satisfied by the still widely accepted adult goals of economic security and social status. Although many adults, as parents or policy-makers, may find the behavior disrupting and therefore upsetting, it can also be considered questive. It may represent the first—but not the last—serious challenge to the core system of higher education. That system has been inextricably bound up with the allocation of those non-educational goods and services which distinguished the upper strata of society from the lower. It has been systemically linked with the development of special skills needed to manage a complex industrial society and produce the science and technology which supports the manufacture and consumption of commodities, the chief business of that society.

If parsimonious state legislatures, sensitive to the taxpayers' mood, are an indicator of an erosion of agreement about what and for whom a college education is good, the second indicator—an increasing postulation of alternatives—suggests the mounting erosion of consensus about how, when, and where this education is to take place.

This erosion—symptomatic of rapid social change on other fronts—poses the problem for federal policy of the appropriateness of its chief policy instrument. The fulcrum, which balances the point of exchange between the dispensing of public funds and their utilization by individual students and institutions according to federal rules, mandates, and guidelines, is disappearing. To put it another way, there are now many fulcrum points, each of which must represent a bargain between users and dispensers. Levers which balance the public good against the private claim cannot do their job if there are too many fulcrums. The single fulcrum point, which has been the place of the higher education in society, is no longer secure in an emerging post-industrial age. It is a serious question as to whether traditional subsidy forms of public expenditure budgets, controlled by federal and state legislatures and administrations, can resecure that place. But Byrnes' recommendation of a shift in federal support towards a higher proportion of "student" aid vis-á-vis institutional aid makes sense only if policy is prepared to visibly relax constraining definitions of who is a student, and where, when and how he may undertake his continuing education.

Two consequences emerge from this line of thinking. The first, set forth in these essays, is that federal policy still employs a mythology of higher education which has less and less to do with the emerging realities of post-secondary education. The domain has changed. It is being redefined; it takes a variety of institutional forms which begin to break the conventional constraints of time, place, and content. Its structural linkages with the K-12 school system shift, as do its interfaces with occupational structure and employment practices, with social structure and with the system of distribution of life-chances and life-values. One point, however, is clear. No federal policy should be discussed, recommended, enacted or implemented unless we attempt to fit the policy within an explicit perception of this domain.

This first implication carries with it only trouble for policy-makers, for they have little history to fall back on to offer even vague guidelines about this phenomenon of post-secondary education. Like the society into which it is interwoven, education is undergoing changes for which there appear to be no historical precedents. In this context, what is the function of the policy-maker, habituated to rely on a presumed consensus which not only ameliorates among factional interests, but also connects the future—the domain of policy—with the past—the domain of experience and knowledge?

The ambiguity of the first consequence leads us to explicate the second. The *process* of policy formulation for post-secondary education is now in need of strenuous redefinition. That redefinition means, minimally, abstention from conventional policies dealing with this phenomenon. When consensus erodes, when experts disagree, when clients and users exhibit peripatetic behavior, when interest groups factionalize, and when money is scarce, what is not needed are policies to ameliorate differences and promote a facile consensus; *the need is for unconventional policies to promote invention.*

I make this distinction. Public policy, at any level of aggregation, has generally attempted to bring the future, usually short-term, under control. It thus relies upon extrapolations from the past into the future of the ways men are expected to behave in stipulated situations. Policy, then, stipulates these situations, or certain of their crucial elements, on the assumption that individuals and institutions will behave as expected. If one conclusion is clear from these essays, it is that expectations about future human and insti-

tutional behavior in this domain can no longer be relied upon as a reliable basis for public policy, for such policy assumes the predictability of consequences, which is a very tenuous assumption in this day and age.

For what course of action will private institutions of higher education opt at the moment when financial failure appears unavoidable? How will burgeoning, massive state systems of higher education behave if their place in the sun is shadowed over by the claims of badgered taxpayers for alternative uses of public funds? What will youngsters do who discover that there is no longer a simple, direct and predictable ratio between number of years of schooling and lifetime earnings? What will groups of last entry do who discover that their newly won *access* to the historic leverage of higher education has moved the target of equality of condition (status, jobs, income), the "non-educational benefits," once more beyond their reach? For what will education prepare its clients when the knowledge becomes public that the complex impacts of technological and macro-economic factors upon occupational structures and sequences deprive manpower forecasts of the small degree of reliability they formerly possessed? How will professors and teachers —as well as specialists in other sectors—behave as experiments with para-professionals demonstrate the ambiguity of credentials as a certification of competence and guarantee of its monopoly. Are we prepared to continue to incur or pay off bonded indebtedness to construct dormitories and other physical facilities as we explore the use of electronic communications technology to instruct in those areas appropriate to its special pedagogy?

These questions about the future iterate only the most obvious, by now banal, issues we confront *if* policies for this area are based upon naive expectations. But what then is the task of federal policy for post-secondary education?

It is *not* to attempt to control the future. It *is* to discover and support the richest variety of inventive behavior in post-secondary education of which we are capable. We cannot know how much this will be, or where it will take us; but post-secondary clients are beginning to exhibit an inventive posture, both inside and outside of colleges and universities, by grasping for learning opportunities within a much larger domain of institution, program, and experience than federal policies attend to.

Federal policy should aim at freeing up this inventive behavior, whatever its institutional or non-institutional locus, whatever its time, space and content, whether within or without the traditional core systems of formal instruction. The varieties this inventive behavior may take defy policy control about education—though surely not about other matters. Federal policy may—and surely should—define criteria of accountability for the expenditure and use of public funds. That is an issue of governance, more than of education. It must surely guarantee and promote equal access to inventive behavior in education. That is an issue of civil rights, more than of education.

What I am saying is that we must institute a policy process which does not seek to colonize the future of post-secondary education by simplistic extrapolations from the past about the *social meanings* of education—who and what it is for, how, when and where it will be undertaken. This new process—a policy process—is about learning. We must all learn from that process what it is we variously wish education to produce for the bulk of our citizenry who are beyond the traditional years of high school. To learn what we seek means that federal policy must learn to expand beyond the traditional set of rules, mandates, and guidelines which have limited policy to supporting higher education as the sole repository of education beyond high school. *If* the aim is to promote invention in institutional forms, curricular content, pedagogical technique, and the spaces, times, and contents for learning, then federal policy must move quickly to deny to any system of institutions a monopoly over the future directions of post-secondary education.

In short, federal policy in this area now has a unique pedagogical task: to develop the opportunities for the citizenry to instruct itself as to how best to re-establish an understanding about the purposes of post-secondary education. Consensus may re-emerge. That is a forecast to be made and defended by those much closer than I to knowing the cycles of history. But first it will fragment and explode into a vast array of alternatives. I believe it is the central task of federal policy in this area to promote (1) opportunities for inventing alternative futures for post-secondary education and (2) opportunities for learning from the consequences of those inventions.

Publications Available from the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse.

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The Quantity of Formal Instruction in the United States. James C. Byrnes.

A look at the growth of formal instruction in the United States over the past century which draws together the growth at all levels of formal education. A model describing the pattern of overall growth is proposed and possible trends for the future discussed.

The "Financial Crisis" in Higher Education: Past, Present, and Future. (RR-6). James C. Byrnes and A. Dale Tussing

A discussion and analysis of the financial problems besetting higher education, looked at in terms of the amount of federal aid is not only necessary but realistic in terms of the social value of receiving such educational benefits.

A Critical Look at the Cross-Impact Matrix Method of Forecasting. (RR-5). Michael Folk

An analysis of the assumptions lying behind the computor-forecasting tool known as the "cross-impact matrix." While Folk finds that many of the assumptions cannot be validated, he analyses modifications possible in the method that should allow to tool to retain some of its value for forecasting and policy planning.

Essential Reading for the Future of Education: A Selected, Critically Annotated Bibiliography. Michael Marien. $1.50.

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The Learning Force An Approach to the Politics of Education. Stanley Moses.

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An Approach to the Futures-Perspective in American Educational Planning. Warren L. Ziegler.

A study of five models of planning currently operable in the American educational system, with a discussion of their viability in terms of the long-term future. Included are two critiques of the paper. Originally prepared for the Center for Educational Research and Innovation of the OECD, and to be published by them in the Fall of 1970. (NA)

Publications Available from Other Sources

Educational Planning in Perspective: Forecasting and Policy Making. Thomas F. Green, ed.

To be published in September, 1971 by Futures, the journal of forecasting and planning. Center contributions to the publication include essays by both Thomas Green and Michael Marien. Other contributors include Francis Keppel, Beresford Hayward, Gareth Williams, Maurice Kogan, and Fritz Stern. The volume will be available from IPC Science and Technology Press, Ltd., IPC House, 32 High Street, Guildford, Surrey, England. The cost per volume, postpaid, is $5.00.

The Learning Force: A More Comprehensive Framework for Educational Policy. Stanley Moses

Also available from the Library of Continuing Education, 107 Roney Lane Syracuse, New York 13210. Price: $1.25. This is Occasional Paper No. 25.

Educational Planning and Policy: An International Bibliography. Maureen Webster.

An extensive, world-wide, unannotated bibliography of the planning literature of the decade of the 60's. Currently undergoing revision and expansion, the working draft is available through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. Hard copy price: $33.15. Microfiche price: $2.50.

Essays on the Future of Continuing Education Worldwide, Warren L. Ziegler, ed.

Papers presented at an International Seminar on Adult Education held at Syracuse University in December 1969. 141 pp. $3.00. Order from Syracuse University Press, Box 8, University Station, Syracuse, New York 13210.

The following three studies were done by the Institute for the Future, in Middletown, Connecticut, with support from the EPRC. Please address inquiries for copies of these reports to the Information Officer at IFF.

"Forecasts of Some Technological and Scientific Developments and Their Societal Consequences." R-6.

"Some Potential Societal Developments: 1970-2000." R-7.

"The Use of Cross-Impact Matrices for Forecasting and Planning." R-10.

Film

"The Future Quantity of Instruction"

A 10 minute, color, sound, 16mm computer generated animated film based on the work of James Byrnes. Available through local film rental libraries. Information on where film libraries may purchase copies from EPRC Publications.

Reprints Available from EPRC

Thomas F. Green. "Post-Secondary Education: 1970-1990," *Dilemmas in American Policy: Crucial Issues of Contemporary Society,* Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education #62. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969.

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